HEADQUARTERS NEWS LETTER

NATIONAL·AMERICAN·WOMAN·SUFFRAGE·ASSOCIATION

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VOLUME II NUMBER IV

APRIL · 15 · 1916

SUFFRAGE PARADE
SUFFRAGE PLANK REP. PLATFORM
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ONE MARCHER IN LINE IS WORTH TEN PETITIONS IN THE WASTE BASKET

Will you do your share at Chicago or St. Louis?

JAN 30 1917

HEADQUARTERS NEWS LETTER

A printed attempt to maintain intimate contact between the National American Woman Suffrage Association and its thousands of members throughout the country.

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National American Woman Suffrage Association

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—:o:—

THOSE PARADES!

Several days ago we asked Mr. C. Batchelor to draw a cartoon for us that would make every live suffragist in the country appreciate the importance of the Chicago and St. Louis parades.

"We want something that will make them sit up and take notice," we told him, "something that will make them realize that these Chicago and St. Louis demonstrations are more than mere parades—that they represent the kind of Opportunity that knocks only once every four years—*and that this is the fourth year!*"

Mr. Batchelor got the idea. Maybe it is because he is just as good a suffragist as he is an artist. Or maybe it is because, as an artist, he appreciates the value of visualizing the truth. At any rate, he has turned out a cartoon that tells the whole story.

Turn back a page—we want you to look at it again.

And then we want you to write to Chicago, or St. Louis—or both—and tell the women in charge there that you will do *your* share toward bearing those suffrage planks into the Republican and Democratic conventions.

The Chairman of the Chicago Parade Committee is Mrs. Harrison Munro Brown, 604 Tower Building, Chicago, Ill. Write her that you are coming. Do it now! Every additional marcher supplies an additional reason for the delegates to the Republican convention to put a suffrage plank into their National platform.

And it will be the same at St. Louis.

To be sure, the parade there will be a bit different, being of the "Walkless" variety. But every woman who stands in line on June 14th and helps form the cordon of suffrage gold around the Coliseum will help to impress upon the delegates to the Democratic convention that the women of this country want a suffrage plank in the National Democratic platform.

Write to Mrs. Morrison Fuller, at The Buckingham, St. Louis, Mo., and tell her she can count upon you. Do it to-day.

Chances like this come only once in four years. And remember Batchelor's injunction:

"*One marcher in line is worth ten petitions in the waste basket.*"

—:o:—

ERROR NOTE.

In the March News Letter it was reported that the great national suffrage parade which is to take place during the Republican convention in Chicago, would be staged on June 5th. That date is incorrect. **The Chicago parade will be held on June 7th.**

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THE NEW NATIONAL PUBLICITY COUNCIL.

To assure the success of the big, nation-wide publicity campaign that the National Association has planned for 1916, a National Publicity Council is now in process of organization.

The council is to be made up of 48 members—one from each State and each one a live wire. With the assistance of this council there should be no limit to the amount of valuable publicity which the Cause in general may secure this year.

Both the State campaigns and the National Campaign will profit through the interchange of ideas that the National Publicity Council will make possible. In the past, full benefit has not always been secured from some of the most novel and original suffrage "stunts" because they have been limited to one locality and received newspaper attention only from the papers of that locality. By using the Publicity Department of the National Association as a clearing house for clever ideas, however, all of this local publicity can be developed and extended until it covers the entire country.

With a live representative heading the publicity forces in each State, it will also be possible for the National Association to plan and carry out from six to a dozen big nation-wide publicity stunts each year—stunts that up to date have been impossible because there has been no one definite person in each State responsible for the kind of co-operation that is essential to the success of a national publicity campaign of any character.

Those of us who have kept in close touch with suffrage publicity work during the past few years all realize that never before in the history of the suffrage movement have such opportunities existed as exist today for the dissemination of suffrage news and propoganda through the press.

The papers, the magazines, the "movies"—every medium that exists—is at our command. All we have to do is to give them live material of the right kind, and lots of it.

You can help.

How? By sending any good ideas you get on suffrage publicity to our Publicity Department and by helping us to collect story and picture material wherever and whenever you can.

IOWA CHANCES—FROM THE MAN'S VIEW-POINT.

Aside from the long months of hard work which the women of Iowa have put into their campaign for the ballot, two sound reasons exist for believing that the suffrage amendment will be carried there by a comfortable majority on June 5th. One is that the interests which ordinarily oppose Woman Suffrage have less of a grip on politics in Iowa than in any other state in the Union. The other is that the men of Iowa, as a whole, view woman suffrage with more equanimity and from a more practical standpoint than the average eastern man. As a result, the general suffrage sentiment in Iowa is of a far more healthy character to-day, a scant two months before the referendum, than it was in the East early last fall.

Opposition, of course, exists, but up to date it has not been characterized by the viciousness that besmirched certain sections of the eastern states in the 1915 campaigns. Moreover, although the opponents of woman suffrage have sent one of their highest-priced male professionals through certain sections of the state to paint lurid word-pictures of the ruin and devastation that is supposed to exist in the states where women vote, he has left hardly a ripple in his wake. The men of Iowa do not appear to be so emotional as some of their eastern brethren.

What is more encouraging than their lack of interest in the anti side of the campaign, however, is the active, personal interest which thousands of Iowa men are taking in the women's campaign. Under the leadership of John D. Dennison, of Des Moines, a State Men's League for woman suffrage has been established. Already more than 400 branches in as many local communities have been organized and men speakers by the hundreds are volunteering their services during the closing weeks of the campaign.

The splendid co-operation which these men's leagues are giving the women seems to typify the attitude which the great majority of the men of the State hold toward suffrage. In itself this is one of the most pleasing features of the campaign, for, with the active support of the most prominent men in every county in the State behind them the women are practically sure of being able to bring out a big vote on June 5th.

That the agricultural counties, which are in the large majority, will roll up a favorable vote for suffrage is almost a certainty, as the farmers of Iowa are staunch believers in votes for women and have pledged their support to the campaign, not only individually but through the State Grange and other farm associations. Whether the cities will "backslide" and vote against the amendment remains to be seen; but it is only fair to state that at present writing there seems to be little likelihood of such action. Certainly it is not reflected in the city newspapers which, for the most part, are giving splendid support to the women's campaign.

Solely from the newspaper standpoint the vote in favor of suffrage would be double that of the vote opposed, as a recent poll of the newspapers of the entire State showed that the communities whose views they reflected were a little more than 2 to 1 in favor of the suffrage amendment. The poll, which was conducted by the Des Moines Capital, was an interesting one. The editors were not asked to express their personal views on suffrage but to state whether or not they believed their communities were in favor of or opposed to suffrage.

Promising as the situation is now in Iowa neither the men nor women workers in the State intend to slacken up in their campaigning in any way. In fact, there is a State-wide determination among the suffragists, both men and women, to increase their activities, between now and June 5th, so that each and every voter in the State may be reached and induced to come out and register his opinion at the polls. To carry out their plans is going to take a great deal of money, and financial help from the outside is needed. Consequently every good suffragist who appreciates the benefits that will accrue to the cause at large from an Iowa victory this year is earnestly requested to render whatever financial aid he can, for although the suffrage sentiment in Iowa is excellent there is no question but that the opponents will spend thousands of dollars to undermine it between now and June; and to defend the hard campaign which both the men and women of the State are making from the eleventh-hour opposition of those interests that fear the vote in the hands of women will require the spending of counter sums for organization and educational purposes.

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CANADIAN SUFFRAGE.

Three Canadian Provinces, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, have granted full Provincial suffrage to women within the last three months. Thus woman suffrage in Canada covers a total of 758,817 square miles, an area equal to the area of all the States east of the Mississippi with the exception of Georgia and Florida, and twice the combined area of California, Oregon, Washington, and Nevada. The total population affected by equal suffrage in Canada is 1,312,709.

From Manitoba we have the following statement concerning the newly-granted franchise:

(1) The Franchise is granted to women on the same conditions as to men.

(2) They are granted a vote in Provincial elections.

(3) They must be twenty-one years of age.

(4) They need not have any property qualifications.

(5) The law applies equally to married and single women.

(6) The law does not extend to the Dominion Franchise because the Province has no right to legislate for the Dominion.

It may be therefor, that while they have a vote in Provincial elections they may not have one in Dominion elections. It is calculated that the newly passed Franchise Bill affects approximately 120,000 women in this Province, over the age of twenty-one years.

SUFFRAGE IN CONGRESS.

On March 28th the Judiciary Committee, by a vote of 10 to 9, postponed indefinitely consideration of all constitutional amendments. This action carried with it the woman suffrage resolution, and was the Committee's way of disposing of our amendment.

As soon as the Committee met it went into executive session, so that we do not have accurately all that occurred in the committee meeting. We do know, however, that of the 11 members pledged to our support Mr. Williams, of Illinois, was absent. He gave a proxy to Mr. Taggart authorizing his vote to be cast in favor of our amendment, but he also permitted himself to be paired with any absentee opposed to us. As Mr. Walker, of Georgia, who is against woman suffrage, was absent, he and Mr. Williams were paired. This left 10 of our friends present to 9 members of the opposition. Mr. Dyer, of St. Louis, Mo., who had promised to vote for us, defaulted and voted against us, in that he voted to postpone indefinitely all constitutional amendments. It is said that the reason for Mr. Dyer's vote is that although he was in favor of reporting out our resolution, he was opposed to the prohibition amendment. When the two were linked together he voted against both.

Those who voted for us were: Messrs. Taggart, of Kansas; Thomas, of Kentucky; Morgan, of Oklahoma; Neely and Moss, of West Virginia; Volstead, of Minnesota; Nelson, of Wisconsin; Dale and Chandler, of New York. Of the above two are democrats and seven republicans.

Those who voted against us were: Messrs. Webb, of North Carolina, Chairman; Carlin, of Virginia; Igoe and Dyer, of Missouri; Gard, of Ohio; Whaley, of South Carolina; Caraway, of Arkansas; Steele and Graham, of Pennsylvania; and Danforth, of New York. Of these seven are democrats and three republicans.

The effect of indefinite postponement is to quash the proposition for this session, unless unanimous consent can be secured to bring it up again. With the number of anti-suffragists that there are on the Committee, unanimous consent will be difficult to secure. It will be necessary to show Mr. Webb, the chairman of the Committee, the injustice of the Committee's procedure. As the first step in this direction, Mrs. Roessing sent Mr. Webb the following letter:

"In behalf of the National American Woman Suffrage Association I protest against the tactics employed in the Judiciary Committee on March 28th, in preventing the promised consideration of the resolution providing for woman suffrage by a constitutional amendment.

"As you will recall, the Committee on March 14th unanimously agreed that the suffrage resolution should be the order of the day on March 28th at 10:30 o'clock. Instead of presenting this resolution for consideration at the time appointed, you, as chairman, permitted the consideration of a motion to postpone indefinitely all constitutional amendments, which, of course, included the woman suffrage amendment. For a presiding officer to permit such procedure means simply that he is unwilling to play fair.

"This unfairness is the more to be condemned since it was known that had the measure itself come to a vote its advocates would have had a majority. The National American Woman Suffrage Association considers that the ten members who voted on March 28th to support a motion to include all constitutional amendments have broken faith with the suffragists of this country, and that you, as chairman of that committee, were the chief instrument in the committee's unfair action."

(Signed) JENNIE BRADLEY ROESSING,
Chairman.

A similar letter of protest has been sent to each of the other nine men who voted against us.

During the month there has been no change in the status of the measure in the Senate.

If each political party had a suffrage plank in its national platform, our measure would not be held in committee today. We therefore urge all suffragists to redouble their work in connection with the Republican and Democratic National Conventions. Experience has proved in state campaigns that success with corresponding state legislation has followed upon the inclusion of planks in all the state party platforms. We believe that the case for the submission of the Federal amendment is similar, and therefore must bend our strength to secure such planks in all the National platforms.

One of the chief obstacles in our present work in Congress is the impression that suffragists have joined forces with the Republican party. Some Congressmen go so far as to state their belief that the Republicans are not only directing the policy of the suffrage work in Congress, but are financing it as well. It has therefore been necessary for our lobby to reiterate the non-partisan attitude of the National Association, and to explain in detail that we are neither for nor against any party. The leaders in Congress recognize, as do we, that not since 1869 has any party had two-thirds of all the votes in both branches of Congress. One party is necessarily always in the majority, but it cannot be held responsible for a two-thirds vote when it does not possess it. As it is not likely that any party will soon again have two-thirds of the vote in Congress, and will therefore not be able alone to put through Congress the Federal amendment, it behooves all suffragists to secure the support of all parties, in order that we may gather from each the necessary strength and votes to secure the passage of our resolution.

In response to inquiries, the membership of the National Congressional Committee is again given. It consists of Mrs. Frank M. Roessing, Chairman; Miss Mary Garrett Hay, of New York, Vice-Chairman; Mrs. Solon H. Jacobs, of Alabama; Mrs. T. T. Cotnam, of Arkansas; Miss Martha Norris, of Ohio; Mrs. B. B. Valentine, of Virginia; and Mrs. C. S. McClure, of Michigan. Mrs. Antoinette Funk, of Illinois, who was a Vice-Chairman of the Committee has resigned and is taking up other work.

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NOTICE TO SLOGAN CONTESTANTS.

In addition to the terms of the slogan contest as published in the March issue of the News Letter, the Slogan Committee announces that if the prize winning slogan is submitted by two or more persons each of such persons will receive the full amount of the $25 prize.

PROGRESS OF THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT

KNOWN IN THE

64TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES AS

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Conferring upon Women the Right of Suffrage.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

History of Amendment.

First introduced in the Senate, January 10, 1878 by Senator A. A. Sargent, of California.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

In the Senate:

1878, Adverse majority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1889, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1890, Without recommendation.
1893, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Without recommendation.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

VOTED UPON IN THE SENATE:

January 25, 1887, yeas 16, nays 34.
March 19, 1914, yeas 35, nays 34.

IN THE HOUSE REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE:

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.

VOTED UPON IN THE HOUSE,

January 12,1915; yeas 174, nays 204.

Introduced in the 64th Congress

IN THE SENATE,

December 7, 1915, by Senator Sutherland, of Utah, Senator Thomas, of Colorado, and Senator Thompson, of Kansas.
Referred in the Senate to Committee on Woman Suffrage.
Reported in the Senate on January 8, with a favorable recommendation.

IN THE HOUSE,

December 6, 1915, by Representatives Raker, Mondell, Keating, Taylor and Hayden.
Referred in the House to the Judiciary Committee, and by it to its sub-committee No. 1.
Reported to the Judiciary Committee by the sub-committee on February 15, 1916, with recommendation that the Judiciary Committee report it to the House without recommendation. By a vote of 9 to 7 on February 15, the Judiciary Committee returned the amendment to sub-committee No. 1 with instructions to hold until December 14. On March 14, the Judiciary Committee by unanimous consent agreed to take final Committee action on the amendment on March 28. On March 28, the Judiciary Committee by a vote of 10 to 9 postponed indefinitely all Constitutional amendments.

Status:

IN THE SENATE,

On the calendar awaiting action.

IN THE HOUSE,

In the Judiciary Committee.

WITH THE ORGANIZERS.

The National's organizers in the field continue to do valuable work for the Association, working everywhere in direct co-operation with the suffrage organization of their assigned state.

In Maine, the National representative is Mrs. Augusta Hughston. At present she is in Portland, and under the direction of the Maine Woman Suffrage Association, is promoting ward organization in that city. Later, she will visit other cities of the state to do the same work. Recently, the President of the Maine Association, Miss Helen Bates, was compelled to resign from her office on account of ill health, and Mrs. George S. Hunt has taken up the duties of the state presidency.

In Alabama, Miss Lola Trax is inaugurating the political district plan of organization, assisting the Alabama Equal Suffrage Association, of which Mrs. Julian Parke is President.

Miss Lavinia Engle spent two months of the Winter in West Virginia, but is now in Texas, where the ward organization work has been established in the city of Houston. The temporary headquarters which were set up there during the recent Cattlemen's Convention, seemed to fill a definite need, for they have developed into permanent headquarters, and a secretary will be placed in charge very soon. The Texas State organization is planning an automobile tour to cover the border towns, in which Miss Engle will take an active part.

In West Virginia at present we have Miss Adella Potter, who is promoting organization and doing campaign work. Miss Katherine Mills spent the month of February in West Virginia, but is now in Pennsylvania doing a piece of special work.

In Arkansas, Miss Gertrude Watkins and Miss Josephine Miller are conducting a four weeks' campaign, visiting every city and large town in the state that does not have a suffrage organization, and leaving behind them a trail of new and live organizations.

Miss Eleonore Raoul has very recently been sent by the National to West Virginia, and Mrs. Elsie Vandegrift Benedict is in Iowa assisting in the campaign there.

A very interesting suffrage tour is being made by Miss Elizabeth Hauser and Miss Lola Walker, who are visiting the enfranchised states to acquaint the women of the West with the National's plans to secure a suffrage plank in each of the political platforms, and to organize the convention demonstrations which will be given in St. Louis and Chicago for that purpose. Miss Hauser and Miss Walker have begun their work in Wyoming and will travel down the Pacific coast, making a circuit, and returning to Chicago for the demonstration on June 7th.

Working for the planks, too, Mrs. Alice Snitjer Burke and Miss Nell Richardson are making a circumcontinental tour of the United States to secure delegates to the National's two Convention edmonstrations.

—:o:—

The Mississippi Valley Conference will be held in Minneapolis, May 7–10th. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and other national officers will attend.

THEY'RE OFF!

Miss Nell Richardson, (left) and Mrs. Alice S. Burke, (right) who are making motor tour of country for National Association.

On April 6th, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt broke a bottle of gasoline over the radiator of a miniature yellow car, christened the automobile "Golden Flier." "In the name of the enfranchisement of women and the National American Woman Suffrage Association," and shook hands with the occupants, Mrs. Alice Snitjer Burke and Miss Nell Richardson. The crowd of suffragists and onlookers cheered, cameras snapped, movie machines clicked, and the little car, with a responsive snort in the engine, moved off for the Jersey ferry and the first lap of the 15,000-mile suffrage journey.

The "Golden Flier," envoy of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, has been sent on its circuit of the map for the express purpose of calling out volunteers for the big demonstrations which the National Association is planning for the Republican and Democratic Conventions at Chicago and St. Louis, on June 7th and 14th.

"A delegate for every mile," is the object of the suffrage motorists, who are sounding the call for every good National suffragist to do her share toward making the National Parade at Chicago and the St. Louis "Walkless Parade" the greatest suffrage demonstrations in the history of the movement.

The National Association is concentrating every energy on these conventions, because of the full realization that a suffrage plank in the political platforms is the immediate and direct route to national suffrage. To quote Representative P. D. Norton, of North Dakota, a member of the House who has given his consistent and earnest support to suffrage, "By working for equal suffrage planks in the platforms of the two great political parties, suffrage advocates combine two important factors in this movement. They center public opinion upon the fight they are making, and they stimulate those who believe in equal suffrage to greater activity."

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt christening the "Golden Flier."

The "Golden Flier" is one of the means the Association has taken to stimulate and arouse suffragists all over the United States in their interest in the conventions and the suffrage planks. The little car is at present speeding down the Atlantic seaboard, the schedule of stops including

Trenton, Philadelphia, Wilmington, Del., Baltimore and Fredericksburg, Md., Richmond, Va., Raleigh, N. C., Columbia, S. C., and Atlanta and Augusta, Ga. All along the route they are being met with an enthusiastic reception by the local suffrage organizations, who are entertaining them with every known social affair, in conjunction with the speeches that are part of every program.

From Georgia, Mrs. Burke and Miss Richardson will make the trip West through Galveston to San Francisco and proceed North as far as Seattle. The route back across the continent will go through Minneapolis, Chicago and Detroit.

This is not Mrs. Burke's first experience with a suffrage automobile. In the New York State campaign last year, she piloted "Victory 1915" all over the state and up and down New York City, day after day. She is an expert mechanician, and can put a tire on and make a suffrage speech at the same time. Miss Richardson is well known in New York suffrage, her present position being an organizer in the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City.

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A 1917 CAMPAIGN FOR NEW YORK.

After four months of the hardest kind of work, during which time they have been compelled to climb obstacle after obstacle set before them by the political tricksters in the New York Legislature, the New York suffragists now seem virtually assured of having their amendment to the State Constitution submitted to another referendum of the people next year.

On April 10th, the Senate passed the Whitney-Brereton Suffrage Amendment by a vote of 33 to 10. As it had already passed the lower House, this year's legislative victory is now complete. Next year's legislature will also have to approve the amendment before it can go to a referendum, but there is little chance of an upset, owing to the strength and perseverance which the women have shown. Meanwhile some conception of what they have been up against in their fight for a 1917 referendum may be gleaned from a brief review of their legislative activities this year.

After getting their bill reported favorably by the Judiciary Committee of the House and passed by the members of the lower House they ran up against real trouble in the Senate Judiciary Committee. This Committee, which is largely controlled by one Elon Brown, an up-State anti, disappointed the women again and again by its refusal to report the measure out. Moreover, every mean and discouraging device that Mr. Brown and his anti followers could think of was used to break the women's nerve and induce them to relinquish their fight in the legislature this year. A fair sample of the methods used by Senator Brown and his clique was shown when a hearing was suddenly set for the suffrage measure on the same day that the suffragists had chosen for their New York City Ball. The ball was being given to raise funds to carry on the legislative fight and the antis in the legislature evidently figured that they could injure both the ball and the suffragists' chance at the hearing before the Senate Committee by calling the hearing for that day. When they found that the women were game and able to appear in full force at the hearing they then adjourned it to the following day, but even that did not discourage the New York women. They took an evening train back to New York, held their ball, and then took a midnight train back to Albany for the next day's hearing.

Several weeks later the Senate Judiciary Committee capitulated and reported the bill out. An effort was then made by Senator Brown and his followers to kill it by adding an amendment to it, but this was voted down. Finally, on the night of April 6th, the suffrage amendment was taken out of general orders and placed on the 3rd Reading Calendar for final passage by a vote of 29 to 13, but not before Senator Brown had raised his voice in protest. A portion of his speech is worth quoting:

"I love, honor and respect woman," he said. "I recognize her in many ways as the superior of man. She peopled the earth with men, the heavens with stars and the sea with living things. I recognize her as great and noble in the sphere which is hers by nature and consent of man. But the American woman has gone far afield from her rightful place and I am old-fashioned enough to fight to the last against any measure which will take her further from her God-appointed task and duty."

Senator Brown's eloquence was duly appreciated by all present but it did not win him any more votes than a plea made by him earlier in the day to defeat an "80-cent gas" measure for the people of Brooklyn. And unless he can think of some new scheme or dig up some more criminal charge against woman than that of "peopling the heavens with stars and the seas with living things" New York will have another Suffrage Referendum in 1917.

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The Woman Suffrage Party of New York will carry through some special piece of activity uniformly through the State for each month of the year. The "special stunt" for April was proposed by Mrs. Oreola Haskell and is appropriately called "Shower Week." Every suffragist is expected to put a small bow of yellow ribbon on top of her umbrella or to pin on it a ribbon badge "Votes for Women" when it is furled. Special headquarters will be opened in many Assembly Districts of the Greater City at which time showers in the form of money, articles for sale, etc., will be received by the Suffrage Party. The idea is capable of infinite variety and worthy of adaptation in other states.

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NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

171 Madison Avenue, N. Y.

Please find enclosed 25 cents in stamps to cover the cost of one year's subscription to the Headquarters News Letter to be published once a month.

Name.....

Address.....

.....

THE DATA DEPARTMENT.

By Mary Sumner Boyd

In response to the demand for Mrs. Boyd's article "Must Women Voters Serve on Juries?" published in the News Letter for February, 1916, the Publishing Company has issued this article in leaflet form. Price, postpaid:—

Per Doz.	Per 100	Per 500	Per 1000 (Exp. Col.)
.10	.65	$2.50	$3.65

—:o:—

THE PEOPLE'S VOTE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The accompanying table is based on returns from official sources in all States.

State Referenda on Woman Suffrage.

Alaska	1913.	Act of Territorial Legislature (Unanimous vote)	
Ariz.	1912.	Yes— 13,442.	No — 6,202
Cal.	1896.	Yes—110,355.	No —137,099
W. S.	1911.	Yes—125,037.	No —121,450
Col.*	1877.	Yes— 6,612.	No — 14,053
W. S.	1893.	Yes— 35,798.	No — 29,451
	(Act of Legislature but ratified by popular vote.)		
Del.	1915.	Amendments not submitted to the people (Vote on Bill—Sen., Yeas 29, Nays 15; House, Yeas 8, Nays 22.)	
Idaho.	1896.	Yes— 12,126.	No — 6,282
W. S.			
Ill.	1913.	Municipal and Presidential Suffrage by Act of Legislature (Vote—Senate Yeas 29, Nays 15 House, Yeas 83, Nays 58)	
Kansas.	1867.	Yes— 9,070.	No — 19,857
W. S.	1894.	Yes— 95,302.	No —130,139
	1912.	Yes—175,246.	No —159,197
Mass.	1915.	Yes—162,492.	No —295,939
Mich.	1874.	Yes— 40,077.	No —135,957
	1912.	Yes—247,375.	No —248,135
	1913.	Yes—168,738.	No —264,882
Mo.	1914.	Yes—182,257.	No —322,463
Mont.	1914.	Yes— 41,302.	No — 37,588
W. S.			
Neb.	1871.	Yes— 3,502.	No — 12,668
	1882.	Yes— 25,756.	No — 50,693
	1914.	Yes— 90,738.	No —100,842
Nevada.	1914.	Yes— 10,936.	No — 7,258
W. S.			
N. H.	1903.	Yes— 13,089.	No — 21,788
N. J.	1915.	Yes—133,282.	No —184,390
	(Had Woman Suffrage up to 1807.)		
N. Y.	1915.	Yes—553,348.	No —748,332
N. D.	1914.	Yes— 40,011.	No — 49,410
Ohio.	1912.	Yes—249,420.	No —336,875
	1914.	Yes—335,390.	No —518,295
Oregon (1).	1884.	Yes— 11,223.	No — 28,176
	1900.	Yes— 26,265.	No — 28,402
	1906.	Yes— 36,902.	No — 47,075
	1908.	Yes— 36,858.	No — 58,670
	1910.	Yes— 36,200.	No — 58,800
	1912.	Yes— 61,265.	No — 57,104
Okla.	1910.	Yes— 88,808.	No —128,928
Penn.	1915.	Yes—385,348.	No —441,034
R. I.	1887.	Yes— 21,957.	No — 6,889
S. D.	1890.	Yes— 22,792.	No — 45,682
	1898.	Yes— 19,698.	No — 22,983
	1914.	Yes— 39,605.	No — 51,519
Utah.	1896.	Yes— 28,618.	No — 2,687
W. S.	(Voted on as part of Constitution of new states, Had Woman Suffrage in Territorial Period.)		
Wash.	1889.	Yes— 16,527.	No — 35,912
	1898.	Yes— 20,171.	No — 30,497
	1910.	Yes— 52,299.	No — 29,676
	(Had Woman Suffrage in Territorial Period.)		
Wis.	1912.	Yes—135,545.	No —227,024
Wyo.	1869.	Act of Territorial Legislature.	
W. S.		Vote—Council, Yeas 6, Nays 3; House, Yeas 6, Nays 4.	

(1) An outline of Woman Suffrage history in Oregon states: "Equal Suffrage Amendment was not ratified for two years after 1895." There is no record of a vote in this year.

*In 1901 constitutional safeguards were thrown about the political rights of women in Colorado by an amendment striking out the word "male." The amendment carried by a majority six times as large as that which originally conferred the right.

The first legislative body that voted to bring Woman Suffrage before the people was the Nebraska House of Representatives in 1856. The first vote of the people in favor is the 9,070 minority in Kansas in 1867.

Of late years, the Antis have been saying that interest in Woman Suffrage has been waning—that "Suffrage is not coming, but going."

Since 1867, twenty-eight states have taken Woman Suffrage to the final tribunal for decision at one time and another, and in thirteen the decision has been favorable. In twenty-four states the decision was by referendum. In nine the people have voted more than once. Even if we make liberal allowance for those individuals who voted at more than one election, not far from three million American men have put themselves on record in favor. From the nine thousand in Kansas to the million and a quarter in the East in 1915 is indeed—as the North Dakota Suffragists turn the Antis' phrase to suit their own uses—"going some."

The most interesting of the twenty-four states are those which have voted more than once. Out of twenty-seven elections in these nine states, there have been only four backslidings, and it is on two of these, Ohio and Michigan, that the Antis base their claim. The other two—South Dakota, where the 1898 election called out a much smaller vote both for and against than that of eight years before, and Oregon, which in 1908 and 1910 lost more heavily than in 1906—both caught up too well in later elections to be cited as terrible examples. Oregon serves the Antis today as an even more terrible example—a Suffrage State.

The Ohio election of 1914 shows a larger gain of nays than ayes, the margin in favor of the nays being twice that of 1912. A prohibition amendment was also to be voted on at the 1914 election, and the forces of the liquor men were concentrated in the state. They made the fight against Woman Suffrage their own. It was liquor and not the Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage that piled up the adverse vote. "The tinkle of the cash register drowned out the Liberty Bell." The liquor men scattered cash freely in the cities, and to win another class of voter, they sent out libellous printed matter about the suffragists. They co-operated with the Antis, their periodical, the *Liberal Advocate*, publishing a series of articles by the Secretary of the Cincinnati Antis. They advertised in the street cars against both the prohibition and the suffrage amendment, and they distributed from house to house anti-prohibition and anti-suffrage literature folded up in the same packages.

As a result, the same election and the same voters defeated prohibition and suffrage amendments.

Nevertheless, the yea vote in 1914 had grown almost to the proportions of the nay vote of 1912, and the gain had been in every county in the state. This was a natural growth, whereas the nay vote was inflated by organized corruption on a large scale.

In Michigan in 1913 the defeat shows something not paralleled in any other state, and that is an absolute falling off in the yea vote between the fall of 1912 and the spring of 1913. In the fall, the opposition was not awake. Four other states were voting on Suffrage, and the liquor forces were divided between these states. There was practically no opposition in Michigan from that source, which only awakened to activity when the election was over, and Woman Suffrage actually won. Then they stole the victory by gross frauds in the count of the vote.

After the election, they girded their loins for a real battle and filled their belts with coin. Nature worked with them, for a special spring election is the hardest to get out any but a city vote. The farmers had piled up the affirmative vote in 1912, but now the farmers were busy with their spring crops, and in great numbers they were forced to stay away from the polls, so the rural vote was unprecedentedly light. In some districts there was no vote whatever. In the cities, and especially those where liquor was also an issue, the vote was unprecedentedly high, and where the two issues came up together, business men were intimidated into either staying away from the polls or voting "no." Of the 16,000 majority against—13,000 was gained in districts where local option also was an issue.

But for all that, between 1874 and 1914, Suffrage had gained at a greater rate than the opposition; the 1914 vote was six times that of 1874; the 1913 vote, four times, while at neither of the later elections did the opposition double the adverse vote of 1874.

In the seven other states, comparing the figures for successive votes, state by state, the yeas show a relative growth in successive elections that is out of proportion to

the nays. In Nebraska, for instance, in the election of 1882, the aye vote is between seven and eight times that of 1871, whereas the nay vote is only four times that of 1871; in 1914 the aye vote is not far from four times that of 1882—the nay less than twice.

In other words, the people's vote for suffrage is steadily and by large percentages increasing in volume, while the volume of the negative vote is, relatively to the other, steadily dwindling.

—:o:—

PRESENT CAMPAIGN STATES.

Iowa.

Question voted on June 5th, 1915.

State President,

MISS FLORA DUNLAP,

617 Fleming Building, Des Moines, Iowa.

South Dakota.

Question voted on at fall election, 1916.

State President,

MRS. JOHN PYLE,

Huron, South Dakota.

West Virginia.

Question voted on at fall election, 1916.

State President,

MRS. ELLIS A. YOST,

Morgantown, West Virginia.

THESE STATES NEED

Money *Literature*

Speakers *Organizers*

WILL YOU HELP ?

—:o:—

CLEVELAND WOMEN TACKLE CHARTER.

From Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, President of the Ohio Woman Suffrage Association, we have the following account of the victory in securing a separate proposal for woman suffrage in the East Cleveland Charter:

"At the time our question was submitted first in 1912," writes Mrs. Upton, "an amendment called 'The Home Rule for Cities' was adopted. This put into the organic law of the state a provision to allow cities to have a commission form of government; it allowed them to say what their government should be, and gave them perfect control of the whole situation.

"Some time ago a Charter Commission was appointed for East Cleveland, which is a suburb of Cleveland and an independent municipality, and carried for suffrage in both of our campaigns. The Woman Suffrage Party of Cleveland thought it was worth while to try for woman suffrage in the East Cleveland Charter. At the first meeting of the women and the Charter Commission, the commissioners said that the question was unconstitutional. Miss Florence Allen, a young lawyer in Cleveland, studied the matter, prepared a brief and finally convinced Cleveland lawyers and the Commission itself that it was constitutional. The Commission then raised a second objection, namely, that a woman suffrage provision would weaken the Charter. The Woman Suffrage Party then proposed to submit the issue as an amendment. The Commission declared that a separate question was unconstitutional, but when the law was presented to them, withdrew that objection.

"Our women thought that all obstacles had been overcome, but the Commission, some of them very hostile at the time, said that the women of East Cleveland did not want suffrage. Whereupon the Woman Suffrage Party canvassed East Cleveland and secured the signatures of 1,400 women, and the Commission agreed that the women did want woman suffrage. There were a number of minor objections, but finally the sub-committee reported favorably on it, it went before the Commission and was adopted by them. The Charter of East Cleveland, with the Woman Suffrage Amendment, will be submitted to the voters on June 6th."

—:o:—

The job of getting suffrage planks in the Republican and Democratic national platforms will be made easier this year if all the thousands of suffrage organizations in this country will hold suffrage celebrations on May first. Visualize the demand for the ballot in enough communities and even the most apathetic delegate will begin to see the light.

IMPORTANT LITERATURE

HISTORY, ARGUMENTS AND RESULTS

A new edition of History, Arguments and Results—the Blue Book—is now ready. In it, facts and figures are brought up to the present moment. Laws passed in 1915 are included, and large additions have been made to the section devoted to Sentiment on Woman Suffrage. It is our object to make this handy little volume the *Vade Mecum* of the efficient Suffragist. In its pages answers can be found to almost every question or objection proposed by the Anti-Suffragists. It gives in briefest and most convenient form a complete education in Woman Suffrage—history, principles, arguments and results.

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NATIONAL WOMAN SUFFRAGE PUBLISHING CO., INC.

171 MADISON AVE., NEW YORK, N. Y.

ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT

ORGANIZING TO WIN.

This department will be devoted to the problems of organization. Not more than half the energy expended by suffragists brings real results. Organization of those activities under intelligent direction should result in the production of 100% of efficiency for the energy expended.

The club system is the only feasible plan of organization in the early stages of the movement, but that system of organization is utterly inadequate to the needs of campaign work when the cause has grown strong and ready to pass into the law of the land. When that stage arrives organization by political units produces more certain results than any other.

This department will undertake to advise in reference to organization problems and will at all times willingly and gladly answer questions which will facilitate understanding of the more modern and effective system of organization.

The subjects to be treated are as follows:

1. How to organize a County containing a large City.
2. How to organize a Rural County.
3. How to organize the voting precinct.
4. How to merge the old form of organization into the newer form.
5. How to canvass and why.
6. How to raise money.
7. How to win the State Legislature.
8. How to win Congress.

How To Organize a State by Political Units.

THE POLITICAL UNIT:—The first step is to determine what political unit shall be chosen. The three main divisions of interest to suffragists are the Congressional Districts, the Senatorial and the Assembly Districts. Unfortunately, the boundaries of these three classes of districts are often in conflict which renders organization by the Congressional District alone ineffective.

Action in Congress depends upon sentiment in the state and sentiment in the state depends upon organization in the constituency of legislators.

We advise that the county in most states shall be used as the unit of organization. In most states a county sends one or perhaps more members to the lower house of the legislature or a county is sub-divided, each sub-division being called an assembly or legislative district, and each such district sends one or more members to the lower house. These Assembly districts usually compose the senatorial districts so that organized assembly districts mean organized senatorial districts, and thus an efficient machinery is provided with which to secure successful legislative action.

Some states are fortunate enough to have the boundaries of congressional districts include, without division, a certain number of assembly districts. Where this is true the congressional chairman may well be in charge of the campaign in all the counties within her congressional district. Where it is not true a slightly different arrangement seems necessary which will be discussed later.

How to Organize a County Containing a Large City:—The next step is to organize the counties of largest population. In most cities the ward forms a natural sub-unit. The president of the largest league in the city should invite to a common meeting all the boards of all leagues in the city regardless of their auxiliaryship to state organizations. At that meeting a plan of unification of work within the city should be proposed, and if adopted the necessary work involved to carry out the proposal should be turned over to an organization committee appointed for the purpose, care being taken to represent all the elements within the city. Each league should turn over to the organization committee the complete list of its respective membership. The organization committee should first classify these lists by city wards. This work will doubtless reveal the fact that some wards possess a large number of organized suffragists and other wards none at all. The ward containing the largest number of known suffragists should be organized first. All the names classified in that ward should be called to a meeting within the ward. These persons, although members of leagues, should be asked to sign a printed slip indicating membership in the city political organization.* It will naturally come about that some dues-paying members of leagues will not attend this meeting, and these members should be interviewed in person or by letter and asked to sign the slip of membership of the ward organization.

Each member should then be asked to solicit similar membership from friends within the ward so as to swell the membership as rapidly as possible. A temporary chairman for the ward whose business it will be to carry out the details of organization may be appointed by the Organization Committee for the city. A date may be set for the election of officers and the adoption of rules at such time as the organization committee thinks is best suited to successful organization.

The permanent organization should not be pushed until a sufficient number of suffragists have become zealous enough to carry on the ward organization effectively. On the other hand the work should not be considered completed until the temporary organization has been transformed into a permanent one with the election of Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer.

The rules for the ward should be the simplest possible. Red-tape is a nuisance. On the other hand it is necessary to determine who the voters at elections shall be, how the election shall be conducted and how the delegates are to be selected to this convention. These rules should be adopted to govern the ward organizations until the city committee has been elected and the city organization has adopted uniform rules for all the wards.

As soon as the temporary organization is effected work within the ward should begin. Small neighborhood meetings where intimate discussion may be had with the woman citizens of the ward with a view to interesting them in the cause and to secure their membership in the ward organization should be pushed vigorously. From time to time large public meetings should be held. The workers in

the ward should make house-to-house canvasses in behalf of these meetings, giving printed announcements to every house and urging the people to come to the ward meeting. At that meeting propaganda speeches should be made and in addition a complete explanation of the ward organization and an appeal made for members. In this form of organization every man and woman adult should be made eligible to membership and no dues required.

Each ward in the city should be treated in the same manner. Where there are no suffragists or none who can become sponsors for the ward movement a campaign should be instituted. The most effective means is to open a temporary headquarters in the ward with appropriate decorations in the window and a change of slogans each day.

If the local suffragists are able to secure an empty store, daily meetings may be held there for propaganda purposes accompanied by house-to-house visitations to present the invitations to the citizens to come. At such meetings secure as many enrollments as possible and continue working the ward until there is a good showing of membership and an interest in the cause. Do not despair if at first no one cares to listen. Continual, determined application will secure a change of sentiment. It must never be forgotten that our cause is based upon infinite justice and that at bottom the average man and woman comprehends that fact.

When a majority of the wards are organized a city convention may be held, attended by delegates from the wards, at which time a simple constitution may be adopted and city officers elected. If the city covers most of a county the elected officers should be county officers and the convention should be a county and not a city convention, but in that event the outlying townships should be included in the organization and should be organized according to the directions for rural work, which will be given in a later number.

The county committee will then consist of the elected officers plus the ward and township chairmen plus the chairmen of any standing committees which it may be thought feasible to establish. This Committee should meet at least monthly in executive session for the purpose of hearing reports of work done and planning work for the future. Reports of officers and chairmen of committees should always be presented in writing.

Every member of every league should be a member of this political organization. Small unimportant leagues will eventually find it advisable to go out of existence and to merge their activities into that of the political organization. Large leagues may find an especial function to perform in propaganda meetings, money-raising to support the political organization, etc., but these leagues should not undertake any activity which is not in harmony with the policies of the political district organization, and all plans should be subject to the approval of the political organization.

The executive committee of the organization of any political district, whether the district be state, county, assembly district, city, town or township, should consist of the elected officers of the organization plus the chairmen of standing committees, plus the chairmen of the organizations in the political district next in rank.

The political organization is not complete until it has been carried far enough to cover the organization of all the voting precincts within the ward. How to do this will be considered later.

*The following membership slip is recommended.

Woman Suffrage Party of (Name of State).
(Name of County) County Committee.
Headquarters (give address).
I (name of signer).
(Address).
believing that women should vote on equal terms with men, hereby join the Woman Suffrage Party, with the understanding that the organization is non-dues paying and non-partisan, and that this membership does not conflict with my regular political affiliation.

Legislative (or Assembly) District.....
Ward.....Precinct.....
Date.....

—:o:—

CONGRESSIONAL CONFERENCES.

According to reports which have been received from Wisconsin, Kentucky, Ohio and Tennessee, the Congressional Conferences held there within the last fortnight have done more to stimulate interest in suffrage than any other affairs ever planned by the State and National suffragists.

In Milwaukee more different sections of the State were represented by the delegates to the Conference than ever before at a suffrage convention in Wisconsin. The Conference there passed a resolution calling upon Wisconsin representatives in Congress to vote for the nation-wide suffrage amendment and also upon Wisconsin delegates to the national political conventions to support a woman suffrage plank in the party platforms.

Similar action was taken at the Kentucky Conference in Louisville. Senator Thomas A. Combs, who fought vigorously for the suffrage amendment in the Kentucky Senate, was the guest of honor with Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt at the luncheon at the opening day of the Conference.

In Ohio the Conference held at Columbus brought hundreds of loyal suffragists from all parts of the State. Altogether 311 people sat down to the suffrage dinner at the Athletic Club on the opening day of the Conference and several hundred others who wanted to attend were turned away because there was not room enough to take care of them.

The Tennessee Conference in Memphis opened with a big parade on the downtown streets. Hundreds of suffragists were in line and suffrage banners floated from more than 200 floats and automobiles. Mrs. Minnie R. Trumbull of Oregon, State Secretary of the Commission on Child Labor, who spoke with Mrs. Catt at the Tennessee Conference, brought an inspiring message from the Governor of her State:

"Tell the people of the East that the emancipated women of Oregon are my best citizens," he said.

One of the interesting facts brought out at the Tennessee Conference was that the press of the State is backing the equal suffrage movement.